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of careful editing. It is to be regretted that when an author has evidently spent so much labor in the effort to secure accuracy of detail, his work should be marred by careless proof-reading. The text is fairly clear, but some of the foot-notes are beyond description. For example, see the note on page 7, where not only are the names of Scheffer-Boichorst and Pflugk-Harttung misspelled, but four other errors also appear in the titles of the periodicals in which their respective essays occur, nor is either date of publication given correctly.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. VII., 1588-1591; Vol. VIII., 1591-1593; Vol. IX., 1593-1597. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1903. Pp. 320, 320, 329.)

TAKEN as a whole, Volume VII. presents us more enlightening data as to the early history of the Philippines under Spain than any of those that have preceded it in the series. This is due primarily to its containing the celebrated relations by Friar Juan de Plasencia of the "Customs of the Tagalogs" (1589); the letters to the king and his Council of the Indies from Bishop Salazar, Santiago de Vera, and other members of the first audiencia, and the king's careful instructions to Gomez Perez Das-mariñas.

There are so many points of probability in his favor that we can hardly resist giving the palm to Bishop Salazar in his controversy with the lay conquerors who have become *encomenderos* of natives (having districts of from 1,500 to 10,000 population assigned to them), charging them with abuse and even torture of the Indians in order to secure their annual tributes of one peso, and, with few exceptions, of giving them nothing in return in the way of protection or instruction (through missionaries). Unfortunately the peppery bishop has left us, even on paper, very fair proof that most of the charges brought against him by the other parties to the controversy were true. He engaged in petty wrangles over precedence with the first audiencia; he interfered with the civil jurisdiction of the king, and for the first time brought to bear a weapon that for long thereafter should play a large part in securing ecclesiastical domination of the Philippines, *viz.*, excommunication; he refused absolution and condemned men to hell who did not act in accordance with his views; he conspired with his brother Dominicans to oust the Augustinians from their mission-work among the Chinese in Manila, and gain it and a future entrance into China for his own order; he patronizingly praised the king for sending a new governor to replace the man with whom he had quarreled, then promptly quarreled with the new-comer; and he lectured the king when the latter issued decrees not to his liking. All this is not incompatible with the truth of his charge against the *encomenderos*, and the probability is that he exaggerated very little in saying, "Through their presence, [they] work more injury to the Indians by the many grievances which they occasion, and the bad

example which they set, than the latter are advantaged in being thus pacified." But, on the other hand, we cannot overlook Dasmariñas's careful investigation and sober statements as to the insufficient number of missionaries and their inadequacy to the work, as conquest was extended by the *encomenderos*, among whom he finds some good. And we have to remember that the Jesuits, already disgruntled by the bishop's disposition to give all the plums to his own order, cautiously hint that, so far as oppression of the people goes, the friar-priests are already (1591) collecting in the larger parishes 800 to 1,000 pesos, besides their fees, which are held so high for marriages that concubinage is fostered.

The Plasencia relations as to the customs of the Tagalogs are standard sources of reference as to the pre-conquest natives. The reader new to Philippina should be warned that, though among the best of the few scanty sources of information on this line, Plasencia is neither complete nor always accurate, and that, at most, he studied the institutions of slavery, marriage, priesthood, etc., from a rather limited experience in the vicinity of Manila, where customs were already corrupted and adulterated. Modern scientific research among the wild tribes of northern Luzon and Mindanao and among some of the present-day Moros will soon begin to give us a better insight into the state of the pre-conquest Filipinos than any of the early Spanish writings. None the less, Plasencia's relations must always be consulted by every student of the subject, though of less value than Antonio de Morga's book of 1609, to be reproduced later in this series. The editors have followed the text given in Santa Inés's *Crónica* (Franciscan order). In 1892 Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, now a member of the American Philippine Commission, published Plasencia's relations in pamphlet form in Madrid, with notes.

The decree of Philip II. against slavery has appeared in the series previously. In Volume VIII. we find Pope Gregory XIV. taking a hand in the question upon the representations of Bishop Salazar and issuing a bull (1591) in which the prohibition of slavery is definitely proclaimed. This prohibition is worthy of attention, especially on the part of the citizens of a republic wherein slavery was not finally and formally abolished for two and three-quarters centuries afterward. As a matter of actual fact, however, we have to take into account that to the very close of Spanish rule the masses of the Philippine people were virtually held in serfdom by landed companies or by individuals, Spanish or half-castes, and that the greatest obstacle to the implantation in the Philippine communities of to-day of self-governing institutions is the "caciquism", whereby in every village a few men of property and more or less education hold the rest of the population under an inherited despotism, imposed by ignorance and by a slavery to the soil or to personal debt.

Not the least curious of the old documents that make up Volumes VIII. and IX. are those relating to a very minute inquiry made at Manila into the right of the Spaniards to conduct warlike operations against the savage natives then inhabiting the Zambales Mountains and their foot-

hills, kindred of the head-hunting Igorrotes still existing in the Cordillera Central of Luzon. Undoubtedly Governor Dasmariñas was led to invite this inquiry on the part of the heads of the orders and of other ecclesiastical authorities in Manila because of the previous criticism of all the doings of the lay conquerors in their relations with the natives. It is, however, none the less amusing to note how, thirty years after the Spaniards had begun to force their authority and their religion upon a strange and more or less unwilling people, who along the sea-coasts and rivers had attained to some degree of culture, they paused over the question of making reprisals forcibly upon bands of savages from the hills who preyed on their towns and prowled about seeking their heads and the heads of some of their lowland converts. The friars having found justification for such procedure in the queer blend of canonical law and political precedents that made up the international law of the Catholic countries in the middle ages, the process of punishing the head-hunters was solemnly authorized.

Each of these two volumes has a document of some importance as bearing upon the population of the Philippines at the time of the conquest and upon the rapidity and general character of the conquest itself. The more valuable of these two documents is the extensive memorandum sent to the king in 1591 by Governor Dasmariñas, containing a summary of the territory then held and the number of people tributary. This report, together with that made by the friar Ortega in 1594, shows that the large island of Mindanao and the important islands of Samar, Palawan, and Mindoro were as yet virtually untouched by lay or ecclesiastical conquerors; that Bohol, Leyte, and Negros were known to the Spaniards only in spots; that the greater part of Panay was still unexplored, and even Cebu was scarcely reached outside of the little section on which the Spaniards had first landed under Magellan and afterward settled under Legaspi; and that a large part of Luzon, especially in the north and in the mountainous central part, remained to be investigated by the white man. The lay conquerors seemed everywhere to have preceded the missionaries. Leyte, says Ortega, has been paying tribute for twenty years, and has never had a missionary nor any religious instruction. Negros, Palawan, Mindoro, Bohol, and Mindanao, where some few tributes were being collected, had then never seen a friar. Panay, with a population of 100,000 (probably an underestimate), had but six centers of missionary work, with fourteen friars in all. Cebu had none at all outside of the city of Cebu. In the small islands between Luzon and the main body of the Visayas, the collectors of tribute were active, but the missionaries had not yet begun work. Not half of Luzon was reached by teachers of religion, thousands of people, subjects of Spain so far as paying tribute went, never having seen as yet any other representatives of Spain than the *encomenderos* and their soldiers. In 1591 there were 140 missionaries in all the islands, as against 236 *encomenderos*. The civil government even had *alcaldes-mayor* (judges with executive functions also) over regions where the natives were not yet all Christianized.

These documents shed light on two questions of present interest. First, they point to a considerably larger population for the Philippines at the time of the conquest than the church historians have been willing to give them. Proceeding upon the earliest parish records, they have usually assigned the archipelago a pre-conquest population of one-half to three-quarters of a million. Considering the population reported by Dasmariñas, with large and important portions of the archipelago either unknown or little known, it is certainly impossible to put the figures below a million; these and other data available for the early periods may warrant an extension of this estimate to beyond two millions. The friar historians have assumed that the early parish records included practically all the inhabitants, except those of the mountainous regions and the Moro country, this assumption being based upon the constantly repeated assertion that the friar-missionaries themselves made the early conquests and preceded civil authority in all parts of the archipelago. It is upon this, as a second point, that the facts noted above very plainly bear.

It was in consequence of the representations of the bishop and the governor that the king in 1594 sent out 154 friars and in 1595 110 more. The king's instructions to Tello, the new governor sent to succeed Dasmariñas; the documents relating to the ill-planned expeditions to Siam and Cambodia, where rival rulers were at war, and to the conquests along the Rio Grande of Mindanao; the cautious correspondence of the son of Dasmariñas, temporarily serving as governor, with the great shogun of Japan, Hideyoshi, and the conflicting claims before the king relative to the trade with the orient—these are all matters which, though but hinted at, indicate that these volumes hold interest both for the historian and for the student of current affairs.

There are various photographic facsimiles of the signatures to documents reproduced in the series, and Volume IX. contains also two representations of the coat of arms of the city of Manila in early times and a curious map of Luzon, Formosa, and a part of China by one of the Spanish navigators (1597). Beginning with Volume VI., the succeeding volumes have shown a broader grasp of the work in hand and a better selection of materials. In the lesser details, too, there has been improvement.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

Madame de Montespan. By H. NOEL WILLIAMS. (New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1903. Pp. xii, 384.)

MR. WILLIAMS has followed his life of Madame de Pompadour by the history of another royal favorite. The book is luxurious in form and is embellished by excellent portraits. The paper is of the best quality and the margins are broad. By some subtle association of ideas it seems appropriate to portray the life of a profligate woman in an ornate book. Vice often has a gilded exterior in literature as in life.

Mr. Williams has done his work well. He is familiar with the literature of the period, and in what he says, not only of the heroine of his story, but of Louis XIV. and of the other persons who figured in the